



# ***Health care citizenship for all? Theoretical puzzles between universalism and sustainability***

*by Nicola Pasini*

**Facts beyond Figures. Communi-Care for Migrants**

**European Public Health Association - EUPHA &  
CERGAS and Carlo F. Dondena, Università Bocconi**

**4th Conference on Migrant and Ethnic Minority Health in  
Europe**

**UNIVERSITA' BOCCONI, MILANO 21-23 June 2012**

**Thursday, June 21, 2012**

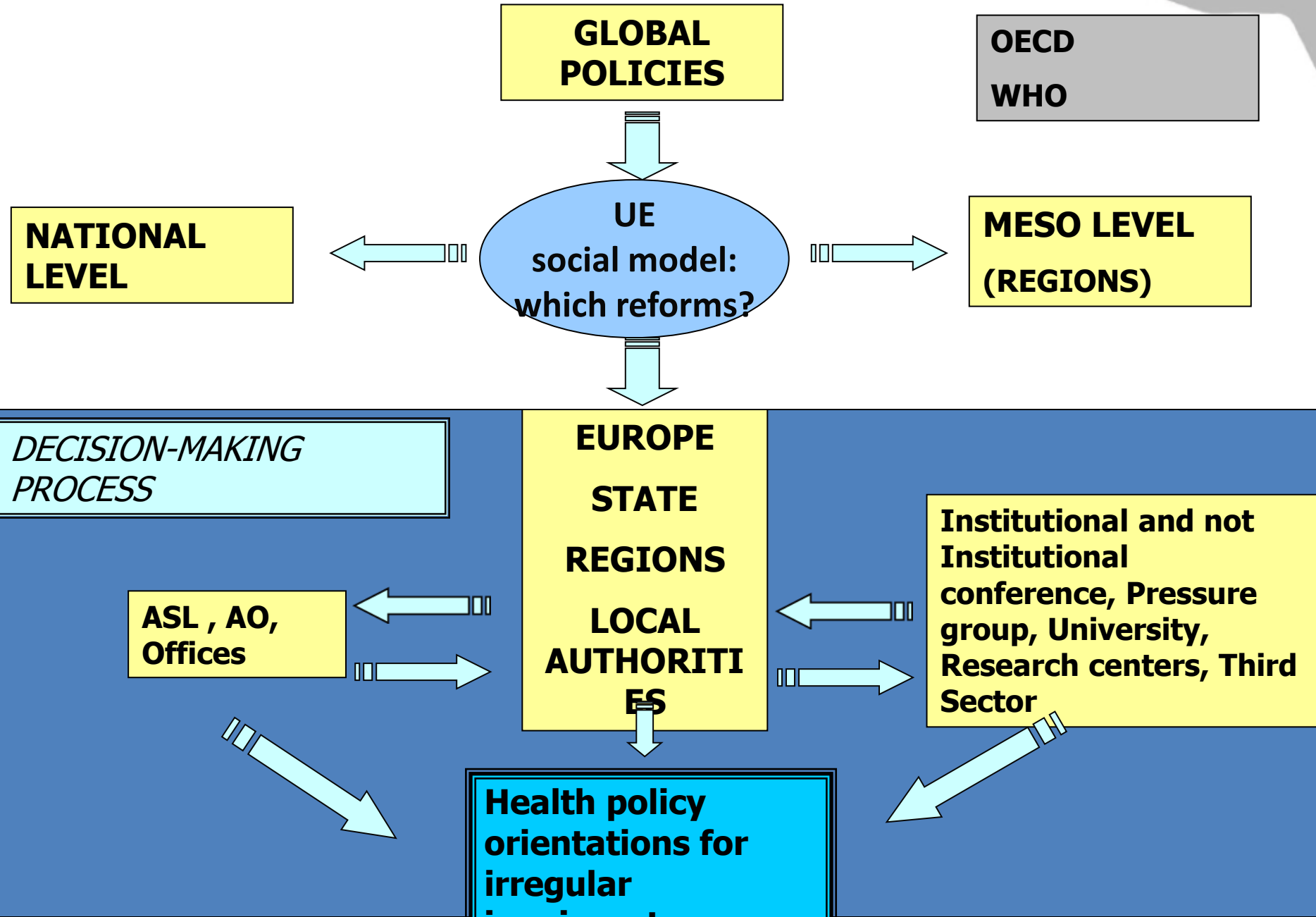
# Ismu-INMP research: some open questions

- Right to health care for **irregular immigrants** (i.e., vulnerable subjects)
- (Social) citizenship in liberal-democratic regimes: polity and the nation-state (citizens vs. foreigners). Which borders? Who decides?
- **HEALTH** = primary and universal good. Which public claim? Which ownership?
- Universalism (human rights) vs. Selectivity (priority, choice)

# Research context and aims

- PART ONE: Conceptual framework (social and political theories); international (Europe and USA) and comparative (comparison among countries) frame
- PART TWO: The Italian case: sub-national cases (six regions: Lombardia, Friuli Venezia Giulia, Emilia Romagna, Lazio, Puglia, Sicilia)
- Principles and models of solidarity and welfare policies. Which welfare? Which citizenship? And for whom?
- Comparison, multi-level analysis between *government* and *governance*: ascendant and descendant phase
- Decision-making process analysis and *policy network*: institutional and not institutional actors

# Multi-level analysis



# Theoretical perspective

- Concurrent rights, weak borders, evolving social and institutional models (Keating, 2009)
- (Irregular) immigrants: do rights exist despite of territorial borders? Debate on *jus soli* vs. *jus sanguinis*
- Is the right to health care worthy to be recognized as universal (*Fundamental Rights Agency* - FRA)?
- Failure of the project of *international health care cooperation* as mentioned at Alma Ata in 1978 by WHO: *Targets for Health for All?*
- Human rights, health citizenship and national sovereignty (erosion of power towards sub-national and supra-national levels): which welfare?
- «New» cultural , political, and social context among civil cohabitation, social cohesion and collective well-being

# Differentiated welfare, multiculturalism, health care citizenship

- New cultural context: a multiethnic and multicultural society implies a redefinition of citizenship in a heterogeneous way?
- Evolution of citizenship right constantly negotiated and debated. Particular demands along with differentiated (and not standard) answers: a more expensive welfare!?
- New interpretative and cultural model of concepts like medicine, health and illness
- New challenges to the traditional social citizenship: demands of health care by irregular immigrants vs. demands of health care by polity members (Nation-state). Problems of consent and legitimacy

# Welfare crisis between (un)conditioned universalism and tendencies

- Rights to health care for irregular immigrants vs. reforms and recalibration of national social security systems (less resources for citizens)
- Western democracy welfare systems: **crisis of universal access** to various health care services. A less generous welfare
- Redefinition of distributional criteria and resource allocation: who and what has to be cared? Principle of **sustainability**
- A greater autonomy for individual and collective, public and private, associated or not associated actors: from *welfare state* towards a *welfare society or community (big society?)* Vertical and horizontal subsidiarity
- **Welfare pluralism**: a stronger flexibility and adaptation to new

# Immigration and welfare: debate and tendencies

- Scenario: supply of social services through a more selective approach
- Relationship among immigration - multiculturalism – welfare: Kymlica, Banting (2010) vs. Alesina, Glaeser (2004)
- (Negative and positive) correlation between weakening of the welfare state and presence of ethnic minorities?
- Can a more generous welfare state cohabit with a heterogeneous society from a cultural and ethnic point of view? Does exist an empirical evidence between a stronger immigration and a weaker welfare state performance?
- **MULTICULTURALISM policies:** an approach more flexible to diversity and more compliant of human rights? Is this sustainable?
- Which mediation between the universal principle of democratic citizenship and cultural specificities of a plural society?



# Which citizenship?

- Polity: pattern of cooperation and conflict between members (equal rights and duties: citizenship equality)
- Nation-state puzzle: hosting only those people belonging to its nation (sense of nationality)
- Contemporary democracies: intersection between **citizenship** and **nationality** concepts (cultural dimension: historical and religious roots, customs). Where multiethnic population are present, there are strong tensions between citizenship and nationality (no harmony)
- **Supra-national level:** is the principle of **solidarity** able to extend to immigrants (to irregulars as well) universal rights like the health care?
- Empirical analysis: access to irregular immigrants is not granted (adverse economic and historical contingency)